was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.[a]

Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end of this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting, and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into this new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions, was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

[a] From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

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172 342 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of [171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background [30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to [168] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The 173 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves, • 223 the origin of which, however, is different. Sôme generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening served the eagle who was allured

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173 223 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as communication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting [237] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eaglehunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 [829] The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to [769] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly- [769] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighborhood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 123 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer